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XIX Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, October 1952

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HISTORIC CONGRESS OF THE LENIN-STALIN PARTY

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1. The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union opened a new and glorious page in the history of our Party and the Soviet state, and in the history of the international Communist movement.

2. The worldwide historical significance of the Nineteenth Congress lies in the fact that it resolved all the basic problems confronting the Communist Party and the people of our country under the present conditions. The great new work of J.V. Stalin "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" published prior to the opening of the Congress, the reports and resolutions made by the Congress, and the speech which Comrade Stalin made at the final session clearly outlined the future course of the Soviet people and of all laboring humanity by the light of Marxism-Leninism, and gave the key to understanding international and internal conditions. The Soviet people have open before them the widest perspectives for peaceful, creative labor and the achievement of new victories in the building of Communism.

3. The new Stalin works are the program documents of Communism, and are the height of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought. J. V. Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" is the most thorough examination of the new highest socialistic method of production which has been established in our country, and which has demonstrated its great advantages over the capitalistic method. Comrade Stalin determined the ways of gradual change from socialism to communism in this work. Comrade Stalin's speech at the final session of the Nineteenth Congress of the Party defines the character of the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the great international force of world revolutionary and labor movement. The speech points out the unity of national and international problems of fraternal Communist parties, and the unity of our Party and the interests of all peace-loving peoples. It explains operational rules for the Communist, democratic or worker-peasant parties in capitalistic countries and shows what opportunities for victory they have in their struggle for power, for becoming the leading force of their respective countries.

4. J.V. Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" and his speech at the final session of the Congress constitute an inspiring guide for action for the peoples of the USSR who are building Communism, for the workers of people's democratic countries who are building a new life, for the workers of capitalistic countries who are fighting to free themselves from fascist oppression and gain national independence, for all international democratic forces united for the purpose of curbing the warmongers, and in the interests of defending peace all over the world.

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5. The Nineteenth Congress of the Party, armed with Stalinist ideas, outlined a scientifically based concrete program of Communist construction within the USSR and struggle for peace for all the world.

6. The Statute of the Party confirmed by the Nineteenth Congress states, "At present the main objectives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union consist of building a Communist society by gradual transition from socialism to communism, of a steady rise in the material and cultural level of society, of educating the members of society in the spirit of internationalism and the establishment of fraternal ties with the workers of all countries, and of an all-round strengthening of the active defense of the Soviet Motherland against aggressive actions of her enemies."

7. All the work of the Nineteenth Congress of the Lenin-Stalin Party was performed in the light of the solution of these most important problems. The Congress heard and discussed the report of the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Malenkov, on the work of the Central Committee of the Party, and the report of the Central Inspection Committee. The Congress confirmed the directives on the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the USSR during 1951-1955, adopted resolutions regarding the change of the Party name and changes in the Statute, confirmed the Statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted a resolution for the reorganization of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and, in order to accomplish this task, created a Committee headed by Comrade Stalin. The Congress designated the Central Committee and the Central Inspection Committee as the leading organs of the Party.

8. The discussion of problems on the Congress agenda, the adoption of resolutions, and the selection of the leading organs of the Party were a stirring demonstration of Party unity, a militant union of Communists holding the same views. It was a demonstration of the close solidarity of the Party around the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, of its boundless trust in Stalin's leadership, of its love and devotion to Comrade Stalin. In the debate on the report of the work of the Central Committee, the delegates to the Congress, expressing the opinion of Communists and all workers, spoke with enthusiasm of the wisdom and farsightedness of the Party policy and of the fruitfulness of its gigantic, manifold practical activity, of Comrade Stalin as the inspirer and organizer of all our victories. In a unanimously adopted resolution the Congress approved the political line and practical work of the Central Committee of the Party.

9. The report of the work of the Central Committee by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Malenkov, describes with utmost clarity and completeness the glorious cause of the Lenin-Stalin Party from its Eighteenth to its Nineteenth Congress. It sums up the great victories won by the Soviet people in the struggle for honor and independence of our Socialist Motherland, the strengthening of Soviet social and state order, and the building of Communism under the guidance of the Party.

10. The period between the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Congresses, filled with events of worldwide historical significance, is a period of complete triumph of the policy of our Party. The correctness and the all-conquering force of its policy found their embodiment in the brilliant victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War, in the completion of the Postwar Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, in the further development of the national economy, the material welfare and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people, in the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the Soviet society and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, and in the solid grouping of all the forces in the international camp of peace and democracy around the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union attained unprecedented might and international authority.

11. The aims of the Party in the field of foreign and domestic conditions, have been set forth in the report on the work of the Central Committee.

12. An important place in the documents before the Congress is given to the problems regarding the international position of the Soviet Union and its struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace. These documents reveal the further weakening of the world capitalistic system and the great economic difficulties in capitalistic countries. They show the specific characteristics and peculiarities of the contemporary international situation. They expose the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of imperialistic states, who, in a predatory war, seek an escape from the ever-increasing threat of a new war on the side of the American and English aggressive bloc, and at the same time point out the powerful growth of forces which stand against the warmongers and defend peace all over the world.

13. Because of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people, the end of World War II brought results unexpected by the imperialists who instigated it. Their hopes for the elimination or weakening of the USSR did not materialize. The land of socialism became stronger, its international authority grew. The capitalistic system suffered a severe blow. It lost a number of countries in Europe and Asia, the population of which, together with the Soviet Union, numbers about 800 million people. After the war, two camps were formed. One is an aggressive, anti-democratic camp, headed by the United States of America, which is now the center of reaction and aggression and creates the main threat to peace, freedom and national independence of nations. The other camp is peace-loving and democratic, headed by the Soviet Union.

14. In the radical changes on the international scene in favor of democracy and socialism, our Party and the Soviet Union played the deciding part. Noting that the fraternal parties after 1917 gave our Party the name of a "Shock Brigade" for the world revolutionary and workers' movement in the hope that its successes would ease the conditions of the peoples suffering under the yoke of capitalism, Comrade Stalin made the following statement in his speech at the Nineteenth Congress:

15. "I think that our Party justified these hopes, especially in the period of World War II when the Soviet Union, routing the German and Japanese fascist tyranny, saved the peoples of Europe and Asia from the threat of fascist slavery.

16. "Of course, it was very difficult to carry out this honorable role while there was only one "Shock Brigade" and when it had to carry out this leading role almost alone. But this is in the past. Now the situation is entirely different. Now, when from China and Korea to Czechoslovakia and Hungary there have appeared new "Shock Brigades" in the form of the people's democratic countries, it is easier for our Party to fight and the work goes on better."

17. All the postwar years were marked by the growth of the forces of democracy and socialism and the further weakening of capitalism. If we compare the economic situation in the camp of socialism and in the camp of capitalism, we will see two directly opposite lines of development, graphically attesting to the great advantages of the socialist system of economy over the capitalist. While in the Soviet Union and in the countries of people's democracy there is a constant improvement in peaceful economy and culture and a systematic rise in the living conditions of the masses, in capitalist countries productive forces are at a standstill, economy is subjected to the criminal objectives of military preparations and suffers great difficulties and upsets. This again testifies to the fact that the capitalistic system has outlived its usefulness.

18. The economic and political contradictions of capitalism, all the more intensified as a result of World War II, again increased during the postwar years. In the intensification of these contradictions an important part was played by the aggressive policy of American monopolists, who, utilizing the weakening of their competitors, seized a considerable portion of the world's capitalist market, destroyed the economic ties between capitalist countries, and strangled national industry in satellite countries. In order to guarantee maximum profits, American imperialism today is not satisfied with the role of an international exploiter and enslaver of nations; it also disorganizes the economy of other capitalist countries.

19. The predatory policy of the American ruling circles provokes a sharpening of the conflict between the US and other capitalist countries, chiefly between the US and England. England, France, and the other capitalist countries are trying to extricate themselves from the dictates of the United States of America in order to secure for themselves an independent position and high profits. The conflict also sharpens between the US and those countries, Japan, Italy and West Germany, which live under the occupational yoke of American magnates. In the postwar years

the conflict between the subjugated colonial countries and the mother countries has also grown more intense. The scope of the national liberation movement grows while the colonial system of imperialism is crumbling.

20. The ruling circles of the United States of America, England and France seek in a new war an escape from the contradictions which are breaking up the capitalistic system. The rulers of the US, having set as their goal the attainment of world domination, are striving to start a war against the USSR, as the main obstacle in their course, and against the countries of people's democracy. Preparations for war in the US and in other capitalistic countries are accompanied by an unprecedented rampage of militarism and a violent reaction against the workers. The swelling of military production increases the disproportion between production capabilities and a decreasing purchasing power of the population, inevitably leading to the growth of a new and serious economic crisis. An increase in taxes, a rise in prices of consumer goods, and inflation have increased the relative and absolute impoverishment of the workers. Unemployment grows.

21. The imperialistic bourgeoisie, striving to suppress the struggle of the working class and the masses against the lowering of the living standard and against the entire policy of preparation for a new war, have taken the course of fascism. American imperialists are introducing a brutal fascist regime in the United States of America and in other capitalistic countries. Carrying out the wishes of the American masters, the ruling circles of France, Italy, Japan and other capitalistic countries have begun a war against their own people. American Armed Forces, stationed outside the limits of the US, perform the role of punitive police forces. American imperialism appears before the whole world not only as an aggressor, but also as a world policeman, who tries to stifle freedom wherever it is possible and tries to plant fascism. Of the former bourgeois freedoms, only pitiful remnants remain.

22. The bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin pointed out in his speech at the Nineteenth Congress, became more reactionary, lost contact with the people, and thus weakened themselves. They crushed the principle of equality of people and nations, substituting for it the principle of absolute rule by an exploiting minority and the lawlessness of the exploited majority of the citizens. "The banner of the bourgeois-democratic freedoms has been tossed overboard," states Comrade Stalin. "I think that you, the representatives of Communist and democratic parties, must lift this banner and carry it forward if you want to gather the majority of the people around yourselves. There is no one else to lift it."

23. The bosses of American imperialism base their military plans on the exploitation of foreign territories and foreign armies, and on the exploitation of other peoples in war in the name of establishing a world government for monopolists of the United States of America. The ruling circles of France, Italy, England, West Germany and Japan, not mentioning Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, which have long become colonies of American imperialism, have rejected their own national policy and carry out the policy dictated by the imperialists of the United States of America, giving up their territories for American military bases.

24. Thus, the bourgeoisie, from being the heads of a nation, have become an anti-nationalistic force and sell the rights and independence of the nation. They have thrown overboard the banner of national independence and national sovereignty. "There is no doubt," said Comrade Stalin in his speech at the Nineteenth Congress, "that it is up to you, the representatives of Communist and democratic parties, to lift this banner and carry it forward if you want to be patriots of your country, if you want to be the leading force of a nation. There is no one else to lift it."

25. Communist and democratic parties lead all the peoples in the movement in the defense of peace, which is spreading more and more, despite the attempts of the bourgeoisie and their rightist socialist lackeys. The present ratio of forces between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy and peace makes the possibility of maintaining peace quite real, states Comrade Malenkov in his report. He says, "The main problem of all progressive and peace-loving mankind is to restrain and isolate the adventurers in the camp of imperialistic aggressors who strive to involve nations in a bloody slaughter for the sake of their personal gains."

26. In the vanguard of the struggle for the solution of this problem is the great Soviet Union, guided by the Lenin-Stalin Party. The Party and the Government steadfastly defend the policy of peace and fight to prevent aggression. The interests of our Party in pursuing the fulfillment of its great mission--to secure the building of Communism in the USSR, thereby opening a way for a bright future for all mankind--require the strengthening of peace and of universal security. The interests of our Party, said Comrade Stalin in his speech at the Nineteenth Congress, are in unison with the interests of all the peace-loving nations; the interests of the Soviet Union, in general, are inseparable from the problem of peace in all the world. Comrade Thorez, in his salutatory address on behalf of the French Communist Party at the Nineteenth Congress of our Party, noted that the Soviet people are in the front ranks of the democratic movement of supporters of peace. "This is precisely why," said he, "millions and millions of our compatriots solemnly swear: 'The French people will never fight against the Soviet Union'."

27. The particular aspect of the support the Communist Party of the Soviet Union receives from the fraternal nations, Comrade Stalin points out, "consists in that every support of the peaceful aspirations of our Party by any fraternal party means at the same time that that party offers the support to its own people in their struggle to preserve peace... When Comrade Thorez or Comrade Togliatti state that their people will not fight against the people of the Soviet Union, that is support, a support first of all, of the workers and peasants of France and Italy who are fighting for peace, and a support, as well, of the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union."

28. The Soviet Union stands for peaceful settlement of international conflicts and differences of opinion, and fights for strengthening of peace in all the world. In his work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," Comrade Stalin proved that the Marxist thesis regarding the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains true in the present situation, as does Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably breeds wars. In order to eliminate the inevitability of wars, teaches Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to eliminate imperialism. Only socialism gives permanent peace and universal security to nations.

29. The relations between the USSR and the countries of people's democracy, that is, between countries within the socialist camp, are an example of entirely new relations between states, such as have never before existed in history. They are based on the principles of equal rights, economic cooperation and respect of national independence. The disinterested support which the Soviet Union gives the countries of people's democracy, as well as economic cooperation and mutual assistance between these nations, guaranteed outstanding successes for these countries in the development of their national economy, culture, and molding a new way of life.

30. The Soviet Union is the main stronghold of peace and security of nations. Our Party, as Comrade Malenkov pointed out in his report on the work of the Central Committee, will continue its fight against the preparation and outbreak of a new war. It will rally around itself a mighty anti-military democratic front in order to strengthen peace. It will strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with the adherents of peace all over the world. It will persist in exposing all preparations for a new war, all the machinations and intrigues of the warmongers. It will continue the policy of international cooperation and development of business ties with all countries. It will strengthen and develop the sacred friendly relations with the countries of the peace-loving democratic camp. It will unceasingly work to strengthen the defensive might of the Soviet State, and to increase our readiness for a crushing repulse of any aggressor.



31. The Soviet Union is not afraid of the threats of the warmongers and looks bravely toward the future. Our country achieved in the post-war years a further strengthening of its economic and political might and its defensive capacity, and is more than ever able to withstand any trials.

32. Comrade Stalin teaches that at least three basic, preliminary conditions are necessary in order to prepare for the actual transition to Communism: to guarantee the continuous growth of all social production, with special emphasis on production of the means of production; to raise kolkhoz property to the level of national property, and replace commodity marketing with a system of produce exchange; to guarantee the manifold development of the physical and mental aptitudes of all members of society.

33. An important place in the report by Comrade Malenkov on the work of the Central Committee of the Party was devoted to the further strengthening of social and governmental order. The Lenin-Stalin Party has assured worldwide historical successes for our Motherland and is confidently guiding its forward development because it has strengthened and is continuing to strengthen the socialist state. The Party has crushed and discarded the corrupt theory of the weakening and dying out of the Soviet State in the atmosphere of capitalistic surroundings which has been created by the enemies and vulgarizers of Marxism. The Soviet State is the main instrument in the building of Communism and in the defense of socialist conquests against outside attacks. It successfully carries out its inherent functions. Great progress has been made in the fields of economic organization and in the cultural and educational work of the State organs. The Party is concerned with improvement in the operation of State organs. It will continue to strengthen our social and governmental order, State organs, the Soviet Army, Navy and Intelligence.

34. The strengthening of the Soviet State, a multi-national state, is determined by an undeviating carrying out of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, based on the scientific theory of the national problem. Due to the carrying out of the Party policy regarding the national problem, which has been worked out by Lenin and Stalin, an unprecedented political, economical and cultural progress has been attained in all the national republics of the USSR. The Soviet national republics have surpassed in their economic development, not even to mention their political development, not only the countries of the East, but the bourgeois countries of Western Europe, as well. An indestructible friendship has been formed among peoples; new socialist nations have grown closely knit around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the present time, all the peoples of our country, in a brotherly spirit of cooperation perform one common task. They strengthen the Soviet Union and carry out the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the USSR.

35. In the struggle of the Soviet people for Communism, the leading role belongs to the tested and battle-trying Communist Party, unswervingly carrying out the Lenin-Stalin policy. The Lenin-Stalin Party is the leading and guiding power of Soviet society. This is why the Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the Party, its organizational and ideological work, its internal life. The reports made to the Congress, the resolutions of the Congress and the new Statute are filled with the true Stalin concern for the Party, for its further strengthening and closer unity, and for increasing its role of leadership.

36. In the period since the Eighteenth Congress our Party strengthened its ranks even more and came to the Nineteenth Congress united, as never before, around the Central Committee and around Comrade Stalin. The unity of our Party is the most characteristic trait of its internal condition.

37. In his report to the Nineteenth Congress concerning the work of the Central Committee, Comrade Malenkov stressed the tremendous significance of the irreconcilable struggle which, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our Party has carried out for the strengthening of unity within its ranks, and against the Trotski, Zinov'yev and Bukharin capitulators and traitors of the cause of Socialism, who tried to break up the unity of the Party and divert it from the proper Lenin course. Corrupt traitors waited in the Trotski-Bukharin underground for a military attack against the Soviet Union, planning to strike it a blow in the back in this difficult time, in order to please the enemies of our people. By crushing the Trotski-Bukharin underground, which was the center of attraction for all the anti-Soviet forces in the country, by clearing our Party and Soviet organizations of the enemies of the people, the Party thus strengthened its ranks and the Soviet State, and prepared the country for an active defense. During the days of the difficult trials of the Great Patriotic War, when the fate of our Motherland was being decided, our Party acted as a single military organization, without any wavering or dissent within its ranks. This unity, this firmness in its ranks, our Party owes, first of all, to Comrade Stalin. The unity of Party ranks has been, is, and always will be, the basic strength and invincibility of our Party. The primary duty of Party organizations and of each Party member is the continuous protection, as though protecting the apple of one's eye, of the Lenin unity of Party ranks.

38. The strength of the Party lies in its unbreakable ties with the great masses of working people. The Lenin-Stalin Party is the true people's party, and its policy responds to the vital interests of the people. In the struggle for freedom and independence of our Motherland and in the struggle for the building of Communism, the Party affiliated itself even closer with the people and increased its ties with the masses. The Soviet people unanimously support the policy of the Party and give it their complete trust.

39. The numerical growth of the Party speaks for the strengthening of the Party ties with the masses and its authority with the Soviet people. At the time of the Eighteenth Congress, the Party had 1,588,852 members, and 888,814 candidates for membership, a total of 2,477,666 persons. As of 1 October 1952, the Party numbered 6,882,145 persons, of which 6,013,259 were members, and 868,886 were candidates. The ablest Soviet people from the ranks of the Soviet Army and Navy, with brilliant combat records, the most advanced members of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and Soviet intelligentsia have joined the Party.

40. Of great importance for strengthening of the Party and for its ties with the masses is the improvement of the work of Party organs and organizations. In the postwar period the Party created measures for development of intraparty democracy and self-criticism. These measures helped Party organizations to overcome the shortcomings in the Party political work to a considerable degree and played an important part in its growth. This resulted in the growth of activity and initiative of Party members. Primary Party organizations in various enterprises, kolkhozes and establishments were strengthened, their work was enlivened and control of the Party masses was strengthened as a result of the activity of Party organs. The importance of the plenums of Party committees and the more active Party members increased.

41. A powerful instrument of the Party in its struggle for Communism is criticism and self-criticism. This strengthens the Party, increases its fighting efficiency, widens and deepens its ties with the masses, develops the creative activity of Communists. However, self-criticism, especially criticism from below, is far from being the main method in some Party organizations which must become accustomed to disclosing and overcoming our errors and shortcomings, our weaknesses and ailments. It was pointed out at the Congress that some Party organizations underestimate the role of criticism and self-criticism in the life of the Party and of the State. A bureaucratic attitude toward criticism and self-criticism has been noticed. Persecution has occurred as a result of criticism. Some workers who speak in favor of criticism, in action, do not tolerate criticism from below, stifle it, and take revenge upon those who criticize.

42. Formulating the problems in further strengthening the Party, Comrade Malenkov said that it is imperative "to end the harmful and dangerous feeling of self-satisfaction and raptures of success, of festivity and complacency in the ranks of the Party. It is necessary to expose and eliminate shortcomings and weaknesses in our work boldly and firmly." In developing self-criticism and criticism from below it is necessary to assure all honest Soviet people that they may boldly and without fear criticize shortcomings in the work of our organizations and establishments. A merciless fight must be waged against any efforts to stifle criticism and against persecutions for criticism.

43. One of the most important problems at the Congress was the problem of discipline within the Party ranks. In order to maintain unity within its ranks the Party established a single iron discipline for all its members, without exception. However, Party and State discipline is still weak among some Party, soviet, managerial and other workers. Some conceal from the Party the truth about the situation in enterprises and establishments under their supervision. They embellish upon the results of the work and permit additional entries in reports of production output. There are some workers who place strictly departmental and local interests above Statewide interests, who stand in the way of Party and State laws.

44. The Party demands truthfulness and honesty from all its members, especially from those in key positions, and an undeviating execution of Party and State obligations. The objective is to strengthen Party and State discipline, to eliminate formal attitudes toward Party and Government decisions, and to fight against lack of discipline and violation of State interests.

45. The Congress placed strong emphasis on the necessity of strict adherence to Lenin's instruction that the most important principle of organizational work is correct choice of personnel and examination of their performance. This instruction is not carried out satisfactorily. The selection of personnel and examination of their performance have not yet been given sufficient importance by the leaders of Party, soviet and economic organizations. Poor organization of actual execution of the Center directives and of personal decisions, and an absence of control in seeing that they are carried out, are some of the most widespread and deeply rooted shortcomings in the practical work of the soviet, economic and Party organizations. An unscrupulous and irresponsible attitude toward the execution of directives of the leading organs is the most dangerous and malicious demonstration of bureaucracy. The Congress demanded a stronger control and examination of performance throughout the system of leadership, in the work of all organizations and establishments, from top to bottom. In their work of checking performance the leading Party organs must receive support from the working masses, from Party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and from the most active members of local soviets. Only the combination of checking the performance from the top, as well as from the bottom, by both the Party and non-party masses, will assure the timely elimination of shortcomings in the work of organizations and establishments, and will create conditions in which the decisions and directives will be carried out precisely and at the proper time.

46. The deciding force of Party and State leadership are the cadres. Without the proper selection and training of cadres it is impossible to put into actual practice the Party's political line. Nevertheless, some leaders are still selecting cadres not according to political and business qualifications, as required by the Party, but on the basis of family ties, friendship and neighborliness. Honest and experienced workers are often removed under various pretexts, and are replaced by persons of doubtful value, or who are even completely unfit but are convenient and suitable for those leaders who like servile flattery and are afraid of criticism. As a result of such distortions, some organizations develop cliques which place group interests above those of the State and Party interests. The objective, as pointed out in Comrade Malenkov's report, is to raise the quality of work in the Party organs for the proper selection, organization and education of cadres. There must be strict adherence to the Party principle of proper selection of workers. An irreconcilable struggle must be waged against violators of these principles, and a relentless struggle against a bureaucratic approach in the selection of cadres.

47. The Nineteenth Congress demanded a further improvement in ideological work, which is the primary obligation of Party organizations. There is a statement by Lenin which says that any weakening in the influence of socialist ideology means a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology. In our country, which has no exploiting classes and where the moral and political unity of society is inviolate and is growing stronger, there is not, nor can there be, any class support for the superiority of bourgeois ideology. Socialist ideology, i.e. Marxism-Leninism, predominates in the USSR. However, we still have remnants of bourgeois ideology, the survival of a psychology and a philosophy of personal ownership which will not die by itself. It must also be kept in mind that the bourgeois governments use various methods of spreading propaganda hostile to our opinions, ideas and attitudes. The unpurged remnants of groups hostile to Soviet power are also attempting to spread such hostile views. The sternest of struggles must be waged against hostile propaganda. In order to do this, it is necessary to increase ideological work.

48. However, as Comrade Malenkov noted in his report on the work of the Central Committee of the Party, many Party organizations under-estimate ideological work, as a result of which this work lags behind the objectives of the Party and is neglected in a number of organizations.

49. The work of Party organizations in the ideological and political training Party members and candidates is inadequate; the organization and control of their Marxist-Leninist education is poorly conducted.

As a result, many Communists do not have the necessary knowledge in the field of Marxism-Leninism. Because of insufficient leadership in ideological work and an absence of control of its content, frequent serious errors and distortions occur in books, newspapers and magazines, as well as in the work of scientific and other ideological establishments. In many fields of science, customs and traditions foreign to the Soviet people have been found. Instances of caste barriers and intolerance toward criticism were revealed. Various demonstrations of bourgeois ideology and all kinds of vulgar distortions were exposed and crushed. In a number of sciences the monopoly of individual groups of scientists who frustrate the growth of new forces, protect themselves against criticism, and attempt to solve scientific problems administratively, has not been completely liquidated. Attempts to strengthen the entrenchment of such individual monopoly groups of scientists inevitably lead to stagnation and decay in science.

50. The objective of Party organizations is to end the harmful underestimation of ideological work and to develop this work in all the links of the Party and State. They must expose manifestations of any ideology foreign to Marxism. They must direct all the instruments of ideological and political influence--our propaganda, agitation, and press--toward improving the ideological training of Communists and toward increasing the political vigilance and consciousness of workers, peasants and intelligentsia. In order to maintain the high goals of the Party all cadres must work to raise their ideological and political level, and must absorb the rich political experiences of the Party. Without a systematic increase of one's knowledge in the field of Marxism-Leninism one cannot become a fully qualified and mature leader. Party organizations must continually concern themselves with raising the ideological level of the Party members, train them in the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and develop them into politically trained, conscious Communists.

51. Of great importance to the improvement in the ideological work of the Party is J.V. Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" and his speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Party. They provide Communists and the Party and State cadres with the knowledge of the conditions necessary for the transition from Socialism to Communism. They constitute for all branches of science an aspiring example of the necessary creative development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist science of building a Communist society; they set an example of a profound approach to the problems of social living. The new works of Comrade Stalin provide all the workers of the ideological front with powerful weapons for their struggle against bourgeois ideology, against the apologists of outmoded capitalism, against the lackeys of the imperialistic bourgeoisie among the ranks of "scientists" and rightist-socialist traitors to the cause of socialism, against warmongers who want a new war. An expose of the corrupt bourgeois ideology is the most important task of the ideological work of Party organizations.

52. The Party Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the problems of development of science, literature and art. A goal has been set to develop the already advanced Soviet science so that it would take first place in world science. Soviet literature, creative arts, theatre and motion pictures have attained great successes. However, the level of some literature is still not sufficiently high.

53. There appear mediocre, crude, and sometimes simply hackneyed works of literature and art which distort the true Soviet picture. Our motion pictures do not satisfy the growing requirements of our audiences. Very few pictures of high quality are produced.

54. The problem of the workers in literature and art is to create highly idealistic artistic compositions which will serve as a powerful means of overcoming the vices, shortcomings, and vestiges of morbidity found in our society. They should serve to develop in people the qualities inherent in conscious, active builders of Communism. It is necessary to develop satire along with other types of literature. We need Soviet Gogols and Shchedrins.

55. Of great significance to the development of literature and art is the thesis concerning typicalness in art, advanced in Comrade Malenkov's report, as follows: "The typical is not only that which is encountered most frequently but also that which most clearly and fully expresses the essence of a given social force. In Marxism-Leninism the conception of typicalness does not mean a statistical average. Typicalness corresponds to the essence of a given social and historical phenomenon; it is not merely that which is most widespread, or frequently repeated, or common. Conscious exaggeration or clarification of an idea does not eliminate typicalness, on the contrary, it reveals and underscores it all the more. Typicalness is the main field for manifestations of the Party line in realistic art. The problem of typicalness is always a political problem."

56. The improvement of Party organizational and ideological work will increase the fighting capacity of Party organizations, will increase all the more the ties of the Party with the masses, will raise the creative activity of the Soviet people and will assure new successes in the building of Communism.

57. The Congress adopted the resolution concerning the change of the Party name. The resolution noted that the double name of our Party, "Communist" and "Bolshevik," originated historically as a result of the struggle with the Mensheviks and was designed to distinguish it from Menshevism. Inasmuch as the Menshevik Party in the USSR has long been removed from the stage, the double name of the Party has lost its meaning, especially since the concept

"Communist" expresses more precisely the Marxist tenor of the Party objectives. From now on, our Party will be called the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" CPSU (KPSS). This new name also reflects the fact that the Lenin-Stalin principles have won a complete and undivided victory within our Party.

58. The Nineteenth Congress unanimously approved the draft of the Party Statute proposed by the Central Committee and it was decided to consider it the Statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It was pointed out in the report by Comrade Khrushchev at the Congress that the changes and additions to the Party Statute were timely and necessary. The new Party Statute reflects its great organizational strength, fully and concretely expresses the main Party objectives, and thoroughly determines the objectives of the local Party organizations and the duties of the Party members as they apply to the problems of the struggle for realization of the transition from Socialism to Communism.

59. The cornerstone in building the Party is the problem of Party membership. Lenin and Stalin always displayed particular interest in the purity of the Party ranks, in the improvement of the quality and knowledge of the Party members, in the system of organization and unity of Party ranks. The strength of the Party is based on the high consciousness and responsibility of each Communist for the actual implementation of Party ideas and decisions. The Statute of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stresses that any worker who is a citizen of the Soviet Union, who does not exploit anyone else's labor, who accepts the program and the Statute of the Party, who actively participates in carrying out this program, and who works in one of the Party organizations and carries out all the decisions of the Party, may become a Party member.

60. In order to increase the advanced role of the Communist, the Statute gives a more detailed definition of the duties of a Party member; the paragraph pertaining to duties contains additional clauses. The Statute states that a Party member must: protect the unity of the Party in every way, as this is the primary condition of the Party's strength and power; fight actively for the execution of Party decisions; be an exemplary worker, and guard and strengthen the public socialist property; daily increase the ties with the masses; work toward an understanding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; observe the Party and State discipline; develop self-criticism and criticism from below; report to the leading Party organs, up to the Central Committee of the Party, shortcomings in work, regardless of the persons involved; be truthful and honest with the Party; observe Party and State secrets; and maintain political alertness; unflinchingly carry out Party instructions on the correct choice of cadres according to their political and business qualifications in any position entrusted to him by the Party.



61. The inclusion in the Statute of new clauses concerning the duties of Party members reflects the growth of political maturity and activity of the Communists, and attests to the wide development of intraparty democracy.

62. The principles of democratic centralism, combining organization, leadership and iron discipline with intraparty democracy and self-help of Party organizations and all Party members received further development in the Statute adopted by the Nineteenth Congress. The Statute contains changes and additions concerning the rights of Party members and duties of Party organizations. These include: a guarantee of undeviating fulfillment of Party directives; direction of the activity of local soviet and social organizations through the Party groups within them; a development of criticism and self-criticism; the exposure of shortcomings in work and the attainment of their elimination; the development of intraparty democracy; the strengthening of Party ties with the masses; an increase in the level of organizational work in all Party organizations and in the Party as a whole. The new Statute is a document of great organizing and mobilizing power. It is an important instrument for strengthening the ideological training of Communists and cadres of the Party and State in the spirit of Leninism; an instrument for the development of intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism. The entire organizational work of the Party will thus rise to a new, higher level.

63. The Congress adopted the resolution concerning the revision of the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since 1919, that is, from the time the Eighth Party Congress adopted the existing program, basic changes both in international relations and in the field of building socialism in the USSR have taken place. Therefore, a number of the premises of the program and the objectives of the Party stated therein, inasmuch as they have already been accomplished, no longer correspond to current conditions, and to the new objectives of the Party. Therefore, the Congress recognized the necessity and the timeliness for the revision of the program, combining in it the worldwide historical experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution with the experience of building socialism in the USSR, and setting a further course for the fulfillment of the primary goal of the Party--the establishment of a Communist society by means of a gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The accomplishment of the program revision was entrusted by the Congress to a Committee under the chairmanship of Comrade Stalin, and it was suggested by the Congress that the Committee be guided by the basic principles of Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR."

64. Our Party is strong because in all its activities it is guided by the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The founders and leaders of our Party, Lenin and Stalin, protected Marxism from any distortions and ingeniously developed Marxist teachings as they applied to the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat. They enriched Marxism with important deductions and theses, appropriate for the new historical objectives. By their creative approach to Marxism, Lenin and Stalin proved that this teaching is a living, all-conquering guide for action. In enriching and developing the Marxist-Leninist teachings, Comrade Stalin ideologically equips the Party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the victory of our just cause. Marxism-Leninism elevated to a new height by Comrade Stalin, gives our Party the opportunity to orient itself correctly in any environment, foresee the course of events, and see clearly the objective of the movement and the means of attaining it. Our Party has conquered, is conquering, and will continue to conquer due to its unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

65. The work of the Nineteenth Congress was a strong demonstration of the great international influence and authority the Communist Party of the Soviet Union possesses. There were guest delegations from 44 fraternal Communist and workers' parties present at the Congress. The boundless love of the Communists, working classes, and workers of all nations was expressed for the Lenin-Stalin Party. THE FOREMOST FIGHTERS OF THE WORKING CLASS OF ALL THE WORLD SEE OUR PARTY AS AN EXEMPLARY COMMUNIST PARTY, and its activity as an example of the struggle for the interests of the people. They are studying the vast experience of our Party.

66. The Nineteenth Congress, generalizing upon this experience and outlining the program for building Communism in the USSR and strengthening peace throughout the world, was an event of primary world significance. It idealistically equipped all the Communist and workers' parties, all the peoples of the world, for a struggle against imperialistic reaction and aggression, against the warmongers. It has equipped them for a struggle for peace and national and social liberation. Comrade Boleslaw Bierut, in his salutatory address before the Congress on behalf of the Polish United Workers' Party, stated: "The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union will be an inspiring ideological stimulus for the entire international Communist movement in its further struggle." Comrade Harry Pollitt, in his salutatory address on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain said that the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "will herald the turn of world history. It will demonstrate, as never before, that the constructive plans, common sense and humanity of the Soviet people are a bright beacon for people of the Western world who live in conditions of economic crisis and in an atmosphere of military hysteria. It proves that the Soviet people live only in the name of creative work rather than of destruction, only in the name of peace rather than war."

67. Communist and workers' parties and workers of all nations see Comrade Stalin as their wise leader and teacher. From Stalin's works they have learned and are now learning how to fight successfully for a better future. With the name of Stalin all progressive humanity associates its hopes for a lengthy and stable peace, for the victory of democracy and socialism. Comrade Luigi Longo, in his salutatory address on behalf of the Italian Communist Party, said: "Comrade Stalin's work 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR' is a priceless treasure to us. To all of us Comrade Stalin is a teacher and a leader. In the most difficult problems and in the most difficult times the ideas of Comrade Stalin helped all of us find correct solutions and a right course."

68. The salutatory addresses of the various parties and groups at the Nineteenth Congress are a vivid affirmation of the growing and strengthening international ties of the Lenin-Stalin Party and the workers of the USSR with the workers of all the nations in the world.

69. Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the final session, expressed gratitude on behalf of the Congress to all the fraternal parties and groups whose representatives honored our Congress with their presence and to those who sent greetings to our Congress, for the friendly salutations, for the wishes of success, for their trust. Comrade Stalin said: "This trust is especially valuable to us, because it means that you are ready to support our Party in its struggle for the bright future of the people, for its struggle against war, and its struggle for the preservation of peace."

70. Under the leadership of the newly elected Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, our Party began carrying out the historic decisions of its Nineteenth Congress.

71. At present the active members of Party organizations are holding meetings in which they discuss the results of the Congress. The participants of these meetings expose shortcomings in the work of the Party, soviet and economic organizations, and are outlining measures for implementing the decisions of the Nineteenth Party Congress. The active members at these meetings warmly approve the decisions of the Congress and assure the Central Committee and Comrade Stalin that the Party organizations and Communists will do their utmost to carry out these decisions honorably.

72. The most important objective of all Party organizations and of all Communists is a thorough study of the decisions of the Nineteenth Party Congress, of J.V. Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," and of his speech at the Congress, and the propagandizing of these outstanding documents and the great ideas contained in them among the wide masses of the people.

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73. In the call to the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Central Committee of the Communist Party calls upon all workers, peasants, and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union to resolve successfully the historical objectives set by the Nineteenth Party Congress. It calls upon them to attain new victories in the building of Communism, to widen the general socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, for a new and mighty improvement of the people's economy, a rise in the material welfare and culture of the people, and further strengthening of the might of the Soviet State.

74. All the Soviet people, with great enthusiasm, accepted the decisions of the Congress and Stalin's new works as a program of struggle for an even happier and a more joyous life. Inspired by the historic decisions of the Congress, the Soviet people increase their creative activity, attain new productive successes.

75. Under the banner of the immortal Lenin, under the wise leadership of Stalin, our Party is confidently leading the Soviet people forward to the victory of Communism.